

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
----- 066249

P R 241713Z OCT 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8251
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 04 BONN 15387

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, US, EEC
SUBJECT: U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONS: FRG FONOFF VIEWS
FOLLOWING OCT 18-19 COPENHAGEN MEETING

REF: (A) COPENHAGEN 2610, (B) COPENHAGEN 2618,
(C) COPENHAGEN 2608, (D) STATE 198317
BEGIN SUMMARY: EMBOFF AND KEY FONOFF OFFICIAL HAD
LENGTHY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS OCT23 ON U.S./EC DECLARATION,
WITH FOCUS ON EUROPEAN IDENTITY AND ATLANTIC PARTNER-
SHIP. FONOFF REP ARGUED STRONGLY THAT SCOPE OF
DECLARATION MUST BE RESTRICTED TO CURRENT EC
COMPETENCIES AND, AS LIMITED BY FRANCE, CONSENSUS.
EMBOFF REPEATEDLY COUNTERED THIS POSITION BY URGING
MORE DYNAMIC AND OPEN ENDED APPROACH, WHICH SHOULD BE
INFUSED BY CONCEPT OF PARTNERSHIP. INTERCHANGE LED
FONOFF REP TO SUGGEST THAT DECLARATION MUST TAKE
CURRENT EC STATUS AS STARTING POINT BUT THAT FORMULA-
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TIONS SHOULD BE FOUND LINKING FUTURE DYNAMICS
OF EC INTEGRATION PROCESS WITH CORRESPONDING DEVELOPMENT
OF U.S./EC RELATIONSHIP. FONOFF REP THOUGHT
EC LANGUAGE ON CONSULTATIONS MIGHT BE EMBELLISHED SOME-

WHAT BETTER TO MEET U.S. REQUIREMENTS AND THAT REFERENCE TO ALLIANCE AND DETENTE PROCESS COULD BE IMPROVED. FONOFF REP TOOK VERY HARD LINE, HOWEVER, ON GLOBALIZATION/INTERDEPENDENCE ISSUE. EC PERM REPS EXPECT TO SUBMIT TEXT OF ECONOMIC PARAS TO NEXT (NOV 12-13) POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING; EC-9 QUARTERLY POLITICAL MINISTERIAL SET FOR NOV 20. END SUMMARY

1. GENERAL. EMBOFF MET OCT 23 WITH KEY FONOFF OFFICIAL DEALING WITH U.S./EC RELATIONS AND DECLARATION. FONOFF REP SAID BONN CONSIDERED THAT OCT 18-19 MEETING OF THE TEN HAD BEEN A USEFUL "MIND CLEARING PROCESS." HE SAID THE TWO SIDES HAD PRESENTED "DIFFERENT BUT NOT CONTRADICTORY CONCEPTS," AND BOTH SIDES NOW HAD A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHER'S REQUIREMENTS. FONOFF REP ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THERE STILL WAS CONSIDERABLE WORK TO BE DONE IN RECONCILING THE SOMETIMES SIGNIFICANT CONCEPTUAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE U.S. AND EUROPEANS.

2. GLOBALIZATION/INTERDEPENDENCE. NOTING THAT U.S. HAD NOW ACCEPTED CONCEPT OF TWO SEPARATE DECLARATIONS, FONOFF REP EMPHASIZED THAT U.S./EC DECLARATION SHOULD BE CONSIDERED A "LIMITED EXERCISE," I.E., SEPARATE FROM THE NATO DECLARATION AND LIMITED IN SCOPE DUE TO THE CURRENT STAGE OF EC DEVELOPMENT. FONOFF REP SAID THE U.S./EC DECLARATION SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO DEAL WITH THE ENTIRE RANGE OF THE U.S./EC RELATIONSHIP. HE SAID THERE WAS A CLEAR CUT EC CONSENSUS AGAINST GLOBALIZATION. FONOFF REP SAID FRG POL DIRECTOR VAN WELL HAD ATTEMPTED TO MEET WELL-KNOWN U.S. VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT BY DEVELOPING FORMULATION ADVANCED AT COPENHAGEN, NAMELY, "(5) DESIROUS THAT THEIR RELATIONS IN ALL SPHERES BE ON AN EQUAL BASES AND MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS..." HE SAID VAN WELL HAD BORROWED "MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS" FROM CSCE/MPT FINAL TEXT. EMBOFF REPLIED BY SAYING U.S. HAD A DIFFERENT VIEW OF
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THIS QUESTION, AND STRONGLY BELIEVED THAT DECLARATION SHOULD FRANKLY ACKNOWLEDGE "MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCE" REINFORCED BY LONG ASSOCIATION OF PARTNERS IN MANY FIELDS. EMBOFF SAID PRECISE WORDING COULD BE ELABORATED BUT U.S. DESIRED RECOGNITION OF THIS COMMENT: FURTHER EXCHANGE SUGGESTED THAT TOUGH NEGOTIATIONS LIE AHEAD ON THIS ISSUE. END COMMENT.

3. EC IDENTITY. FONOFF REP SAID THE KEY QUESTION IS WHICH U.S./EC AIMS SHOULD BE INCORPORATED IN JOINT XGDS-1
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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
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P R 241713Z OCT 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8252
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
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DECLARATION. HE STRONGLY ASSERTED "COMMON EUROPEAN POSITION" THAT SCOPE OF DECLARATION MUST BE RESTRICTED BY THE CURRENT STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT IN EC-9 COMPETENCIES AND BY COMMON EC POLICIES SO FAR DEVELOPED PURSUANT TO THOSE COMPETENCIES. IN TURN, THIS EC POSITION COULD ONLY BE DEFINED IN TERMS OF THE MAXIMUM CONSENSUS ATTAINABLE AMONG THE NINE. ON THE OTHER HAND, FONOFF REP WISHED TO EMPHASIZE THE FRG POSITION THAT OVERALL U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO WORSEN AS A RESULT OF THE CURRENT DECLARATION EXERCISE. BOTH FRAMEWORKS SUCH AS NATO AND BILATERAL RELATIONS SHOULD BE FULLY UTILIZED TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN CLOSEST U.S./EUROPEAN TIES.

4. PARTNERSHIP. EMBOFF REPLIED TO FONOFF REP'S COMMENTS BY RECALLING CLEAR CUT RECOGNITION BY THE SECRETARY AND BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY STOESSEL OF EC IDENTITY AS NEW AND IMPORTANT FACTOR IN WESTERN WORLD. EMBOFF
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REITERATED THAT U.S. WELCOMED THIS NEW AND DEVELOPING REALITY BUT ADDED THAT U.S./EC RELATIONS AND DECLARATION MUST BE INFUSED WITH SPIRIT AND CONCEPT OF PARTNERSHIP. IN STRONG PITCH, EMBOFF TERMED THIS BASIC ELEMENT OF

U.S./EC RELATIONS WHICH BORE ESSENTIALLY ON ALL OF THE OTHER CONCEPTUAL ISSUES BEING DISCUSSED BY THE TEN. AS PURPOSE OF U.S./EC EXERCISE IS TO PLACE RELATIONS ON DYNAMIC AND DURABLE BASES AND TO GAIN BROAD ACCEPTANCE OF PUBLIC OPINION FOR RELATIONSHIP, FONOFF REP WAS TOLD THAT CENTRAL ROLE MUST BE ACCORDED IN DECLARATION TO NOTION OF PARTNERSHIP AND COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS.

5. FONOFF REP SAID ALL NINE EC MEMBER STATES EXCEPT FRANCE SHARED THIS CONVICTION, BUT THAT INTENSIVE LOBBYING EFFORTS BY THE EIGHT HAD FAILED TO BUDGE THE FRENCH. HE SAID THE FRENCH HAD REPEATEDLY, AND IN SOME DETAIL, DEFINED "PARTNERSHIP" IN TERMS OF A CONTRACT BETWEEN LAW PARTNERS TO ACHIEVE A COMMON PURPOSE. FONOFF REP SAID THE FRG AND ITS OTHER PARTNERS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE U.S. WOULD BE TROUBLED BY EC SHYNESS VIS-A-VIS CONCEPT WHICH HAD BEEN FOUNDATION OF ATLANTIC RELATIONS FOR 25 YEARS. BUT BONN NOW BELIEVED THAT FRANCE WOULD NOT BUDGE ON THIS ISSUE AND THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO FIND OTHER FORMULATIONS AND TO MORE FULLY UTILIZE OTHER FORMS OF COMMUNICATIONS SUCH AS NATO AND BILATERAL. EMBOFF REPEATED THAT AMERICANS PROBABLY WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND EC UNWILLINGNESS TO AFFIRM NOTION OF PARTNERSHIP. HE THEN REFERRED TO INFORMAL SUGGESTION ADVANCED BY U.S. REPS AT COPENHAGEN, I.E., THAT PARA 9 EMBODY IDEA OF "SEPARATE IDENTITIES IN COMMON ENDEAVOR." FONOFF REP REACTED POSITIVELY TO THIS CONCEPT AND SAID HE WOULD DISCUSS IT FURTHER WITH HIS EC COLLEAGUES.

6. DYNAMIC/STATIC. EMBOFF SAID HE WAS STRUCK BY CONTINUED EMPHASIS OF EC REPS ON DEFINING CURRENT STATE OF RELATIONS IN DECLARATION BASICALLY IN TERMS OF CURRENT EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS. HE SAID IT WAS NATURAL FOR EC REPS TO THINK IN TERMS AND THE U.S. WAS READY TO TAKE THESE FULLY

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INTO ACCOUNT. ON THE OTHER HAND, FONOFF REP WAS URGED TO HAVE FRG ACT WITHIN THE NINE TO INSURE THAT U.S. REQUIREMENTS ALSO BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. EMBOFF SAID THIS WAS ESSENTIALLY A POLITICAL EXERCISE AND THE INTERESTS OF U.S. AND EC AS WELL AS THE POLITICAL REQUIREMENTS OF BOTH WOULD HAVE TO BE REFLECTED IN THE END PRODUCT. EMBOFF VOICED PERSONAL OPINION THAT TYING DECLARATION TO CURRENT STATE OF EC DEVELOPMENTS WOULD PRODUCE AN UNDULY STATIC AND THUS UNSATISFACTORY DECLARATION. HE STRONGLY URGED INSTEAD THAT DECLARATION HAVE MORE OPEN ENDED AND FUTURE ORIENTED CHARACTER.

7. CONSULTATIONS. FONOFF REP ACKNOWLEDGED LOGIC OF ABOVE CRITICISM AND SAID THAT EC-9 ALSO WERE AGREED THAT DECLARATION MUST HAVE DYNAMIC CHARACTER. WHILE CURRENT EC-9 COMPETENCIES AN CONSENSUS IS BASIS FOR STARTING POINT FOR DECLARATION, FONOFF REP SAID FORMULATION MIGHT BE FOUND TO LINK DEVELOPMENT OF U.S./EC RELATIONS TO FUTURE DYNAMICS OF EC INTEGRATION. IN THIS CONNECTION, FONOFF REP UNDERSCORED IMPORTANCE OF FORMULATION ADVANCED BY EC ON CONSULTATIONS, I.E., "TO INTENSIFY THEIR EXISTING COOPERATION...TO MAINTAIN A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE (AND) EXPLOIT TO THE FULLEST...FASHION APPROPRIATE TO THE STATE OF THEIR XGDS-1 HILLENBRAND

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
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P R 241713Z OCT 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8253
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
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RELATIONS...ALL THE EXISTING CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION, COOPERATION, AND CONSULTATION..." FONOFF REP SAID THERE WAS CLEAR AGREEMENT THAT THE TERM "EXIST" ALSO MEANS SUCH CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION, COOPERATION, AND CONSULTATION WHICH WILL RPT WILL EXIST IN THE FUTURE.

8. EMBOFF EXPRESSED PERSONAL VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO EMBELLISH THE ABOVE LANGUAGE FROM PARA 9 TO MAKE CLEARER EC READINESS TO ADAPT TO FUTURE CONSULTATIVE NEEDS. EMBOFF ALSO EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THE IDEA THAT FUTURE EC INTEGRATION MIGHT

BE LINKED TO CONCOMITANT DEVELOPMENT OF U.S./EC RELATIONS. HE SAID U.S. WOULD BE TROUBLED BY A FURTHER RELATIONSHIP ENTAILING DYNAMIC EC GROWTH BUT STAGNATION IN U.S./EC RELATIONS. FONOFF REP SAID HE WOULD DO HIS BEST TO PURSUE THIS APPROACH WITHIN EC-9 AND TO DEVELOP ENHANCED LANGUAGE ON THIS SUBJECT, BUT ADDED THAT FORMULATIONS COULD NOT "PIN EC DOWN"

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TO INSTITUTIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE SAID LANGUAGE SHOULD NOT PRECLUDE FUTURE INSTITUTIONS AND SHOULD BE OF GENERALLY OPEN ENDED CHARACTER.

9. SECURITY AND DETENTE. EMBOFF SAID THAT U.S. BELIEVES DECLARATION SHOULD CONTAIN CLEAR REAFFIRMATION THAT ALLIANCE ARRANGEMENTS ARE INDISPENSABLE TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY. IN THIS CONNECTION, EMBOFF EXPRESSED SURPRISE AND SOME CHAGRIN AT POSITION TO THE EFFECT THAT DETENTE WAS BORN IN EUROPE AND EUROPEANS WISH TO RETAIN THEIR AUTONOMY IN THIS FIELD. IN REPLY, FONOFF REP VOICED EC VIEW THAT SECURITY ISSUES WERE BEST TREATED IN NATO DECLARATION WITH MORE MODEST REFERENCES IN U.S./EC DECLARATION. EMBOFF REJOINED THAT THIS SEEMED TO BE CARRYING FEAR OF GLOBALIZATION TO AN EXTREME, AS ALLIANCE WAS OBVIOUSLY BASIS OF OVERALL U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP AND SECURITY AND DETENTE WERE, EVEN IN THE TERMS OF HARMEL REPORT, TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN. FONOFF REP SAID FRG SHARED THIS PERCAUTION AND WOULD DO ITS BEST WITHIN THE EC TO FIND BETTER FORMULATION ON THIS TOPIC.

10. ECONOMIC ASPECTS. FONOFF REP SAID EC PERM REPS WERE CONTINUING THEIR WORK ON ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF EC DRAFT AND HOPED TO SUBMIT PROPOSED TEXT TO NOV 12-12 POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING, WHICH WILL IN TURN PREPARE THE NOV 20 EC-9 POLITICAL MINISTERIAL.

11. TIMING OF PRESIDENT'S VISIT. AT CLOSE OF DISCUSSION EC REP INQUIRED REGARDING POSSIBLE TIMING OF PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO EUROPE. EMBOFF REPLIED THAT VISIT COULD OCCUR THIS YEAR OR NEXT YEAR BUT TIMING REMAINED A FUNCTION OF WHEN A SATISFACTORY DECLARATION WOULD BE CONCLUDED. EMBOFF SAID THE U.S. WAS IN NO HURRY AND REFERRED TO FOCUS ON THE SUBSTANCE.

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /031 W
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P R 241713Z OCT 73
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8254
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS
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FONOFF REP SAID BONN HOPED PRESIDENT'S VISIT WOULD COME
SOONER RATHER THAN LATER AND THERE WAS AN EVENTUAL LIMIT
TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE EC POSITION COULD BE IMPROVED.
EMBOFF NOTED PROGRESS MADE SINCE JUNE AND JULY EC-9
MINISTERIALS AND SAID THAT U.S. PREFERRED EARLY RESULT
BUT REMAINED PREPARED TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE UNTIL SATIS-
FACTORY PRODUCT ELABORATED.
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Message Attributes

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Draft Date: 24 OCT 1973
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TAGS: PEPR, US, BE
To: STATE INFO LONDON
PARIS
ROME
BRUSSELS
THE HAGUE

LUXEMBOURG
DUBLIN
COPENHAGEN
EC BRUSSELS
NATO BRUSSELS

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